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SECRETCOUNTRY **Hungary**

REPORT

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1. Pre-Revolt Conditions
2. Hungarian Revolt in October 1956
3. Advanced Education

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57-page report concerning conditions in Hungary prior to the revolt of October/November 1956, causes and events of the revolt, and the status of advanced education in Hungary prior to the revolt.

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[redacted] the Democratic organization of students, the
so-called "movement of the peoples' boards" [redacted]

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[redacted] All the intellectuals of the area were included in
this organization. At first, they held meetings in the house where MATTHIAS
(former king of Hungary in the fight against the Turks) was born. They
held debates and exchanged thoughts. Already in 1940 Györfy SANDOR (not
a Communist), professor of ethnology at the University of Budapest, had
formed a new folk organization as a means of fighting against Fascism.
These peoples' organizations were very important in connection with the
freedom fight in 1956 (Petofi club, mentioned later in this report).
Bajesy ZSILANSKI, delegate in the Parliament and leader of the illegal
movement, stated in 1944 that the troops might better go into hiding and
wait there for the freedom struggle. He was killed in 1944 by the Fascists.
The young people from these organizations, including those from Czechoslo-
vakia, Bulgaria, and so forth, worked on a railroad in Yugoslavia after the
war. Thus they had international contact with each other and could exchange
ideas. When RAJK was taken prisoner, these organizations, which were accused
of Titoism, were destroyed. The debates were too dangerous for the state
(1951). Up to 1948 people were free, after that they were not.

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In the fight for elections, the Communists were better organized than
the other parties, because of their training in Russia, among other reasons.
Despite the bad name of the Russian occupying troops, due to the many thefts
and violations of women committed by the Russian occupation armies, the
Communist won the elections (70%). This was possible because in Budapest ,

for example, the young Communist could vote five or six times, while those who thought otherwise could vote only once.

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young Communists who come from a certain suburb could vote again in other suburbs, being taken from one to the other in automobiles. This happened again and again in various neighborhoods. After the Communist victory the Communist ~~penetrated~~ everything and especially forced their way into the peoples' organizations.

The big process began in 1949. Anyone who was suspected was sent away. No one dared any longer to express himself. For this reason the Social Democratic Party was abolished in 1948. Everyone who wanted to keep working had to be a member of the Communist Party.

In factory production, not the average worker but the best worker was taken as the example. Not only did the farmers have to pay high taxes, but they also had to give the state a part of their produce. This is still the situation today, even in bad harvests, even when caused by unfavorable weather conditions; the farmers must still pay their full share to the government. The result of all the things was that in the villages and in the farmlands people died from hunger. The plans for production ~~were~~ ^{came} from the Soviet Union and were put into effect in Hungary without any changes. This time, that is, from 1947 to 1953, is called the "RAKOSI". This period was marked by the fact that labor was considered the most important element and that the government was strong.

In 1951 all foreign lecturers were forbidden, as well as listening to foreign radio stations, which was made a punishable offense. (There was

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some difficulty anyway in listening to these stations because of the interference transmitted by the government.)

The death of Stalin in 1953 brought changes. The most important persons in the government were all NKVD agents. In Albania, for example, HODJA was an NKVD agent, as were BODARASJ in Rumania, ~~BIERUT~~ in Poland, and SLANSKY in Czechoslovakia. In Hungary it was RAKOSI, GERŐ, and FARKAS. All of these people were Jews. NAGY and KADAR are Hungarians (not Jews). There were some among the leaders who sympathized with Tito.

Although Hungary was an agrarian land, the Russians directed that it must have heavy industry; otherwise, the country could not be independent! Along the Donau especially, whole industries were built from the ground up. Since Hungary has no ore of its own, the country has become completely dependent upon import from foreign countries (that is, Russia!). In this way the imperialism and colonialism of Russia appears strongly.

After the death of Stalin, peoples' movements came into existence in the Peoples' Democracies, for example in East Germany (Berlin), Poland (Posen), Czechoslovakia (Pilsen) and Hungary also. One heard about these movements directly in one's own country, and about those in other countries via the radio transmitters from the West.

An isolated group of writers had come into existence; these people dared to debate, openly. This so-called "Isolated" group wrote for still other groups, among others ~~for~~ ^{for} students. One of the main doctrines was that one must work for the People, in order to provide better living circumstances. The 20th Congress in the Soviet Union gave a real push to the freedom movement of 1956. ~~for~~ Students in Bratislava were the first to

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decide that no more Russian must be taught at the University. Also a trusted group of students in Budapest came into existence, a so-called "isolated" group (March 1956). Also a group arose from the Peoples' organizations, the so-called Petofi group. They debated, among other things, about science in history. Various professors who taught history were invited to give their opinions. The general opinion was that the leadership must be changed. This history lesson really contained nothing but the history of Russia. No history of Hungary was discussed, nor that of any other countries.

Since the circle of writers was becoming constantly greater, they also had more contact with the workers in the factories. Not only by writings, but also by personal visits to the factories and work places, they came into contact more with the workers. The government in Hungary had been warned by the events in Posen. Many arrests were made. In the industry centers alone, about 100,000 people were interned, and about 20,000 prisoners remained in the dungeons. In addition to the intern camps already known, there were also some more camps in Miskolc, Kazincbarcika (north-east Hungary), and Sajobáony (north-east Hungary). The Petofi circles were propagandized to the workers as reactionary, but the workers did not believe this.

In the first part of 1956 President Tito of Yugoslavia traveled to Moscow. There, among other things, he made known his wishes in regard to the reparation payments by Hungary to his country, payments which were stopped in 1948 by all Satellite states occupied by Russia. After his return to Yugoslavia he received GERŐ in Belgrade; GERŐ was charged with

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handling the reparation payments. The second purpose of GERŐ's visit was to improve the existing relationships. These improved relationships enlarged the influence of Titoism and brought many improvements. Many cases of corruption were made public. The re-establishment of RAJK also opened many peoples' eyes to the senseless system. Imre NAGY was again offered a professorship at the University as well as the position of Minister-President. [Prime-Minister].

The situation in Poland was approximately similar to that in Hungary, only the Poles were fortunate in making themselves more or less free. On 23 October 1956 demonstrations came into existence in Budapest as expressions of sympathy with the Poles. On 16 different points, the wishes of the people were made public and carried on banners. GERŐ, who had just returned to Budapest from Belgrade, said on the radio that these demonstrations were Fascist oriented. Just because of this radio speech the demonstrations became stronger. The demonstrators were successful in forcing their way through to the radio studio and demanding there that the 16 points be broadcast over the radio. PRÁGAY was most closely involved in these demonstrations. The door of the radio studio was closed, but through the windows, which were not closed, they succeeded in forcing their way in. The AVH then ~~threw~~ ^{threw} tear gas bombs. During this confusion SZAKASITS, the leader of the Democratic Party who had been taken prisoner in 1949, but who was released in 1955, arrived at the radio studio. He told the demonstrators that they must go home. No one trusted him and no one listened to his advice. He was chased away with the shout "What are you doing here?"

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None of the professors present had the slightest influence on the mass. The AVH first fired into the air and after that on the ~~the~~ asphalt, and various victims fell. An officer of the Hungarian Army tried to intercede but was shot dead by the AVH. A moment later a second officer tried the same thing, but he too was shot down by the AVH along with other young people. The bodies of the victims were taken to the Parliament building, where the demonstrators went next.

It should be remarked that the Hungarian Army, in general, did not take part in the revolution, but that individual members did so. Indeed, many soldiers gave their weapons to the demonstrators. The soldiers of the Hungarian army, when they came into service all had to take an oath to work for the working population and to fight for them. On the basis of this oath the demonstrators urged the soldiers to give them their weapons, which happened in many cases. It must especially be reported that not a single weapon was received from the West.

After this, the radio station was taken over in Budapest. From the Western radio the people heard that the revolution was general, and that it was taking place in the entire country.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Russian

[REDACTED] Troops stationed in Hungary did not want to fight against the Hungarians. These troops had already been in Austria and East Germany and had seen alot. [REDACTED]

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Russians giving their weapons, including Panzer wagons, to the revolutionaries. Then new

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Russian troops, from Rumania among other places, were sent to replace the Russian soldiers previously stationed in Hungary. The latter were disarmed in the barracks and sent to Russia as prisoners.

[redacted] Pal MALETER made alot of mistakes. This Hungarian General [redacted] was unjustly regarded in the West as a hero, had neglected to oppose the arrival of Russian troops from the East, a thing which he would have been able to do, for example by destroying roads and bridges and putting up barracades. Thus he had not had to fight against the Russians, for this would have shown open ~~enm~~ enmity. The revolution would probably have succeeded in that case. [redacted]

[redacted] the Kilian barracks. [redacted] was manfully defended against the Russian tanks. If this barracks had been left temporarily and the fighting had taken place in the city, it would have had more effect. [redacted]

[redacted] the first opposition in the Kilian barracks was led not by Pal MALETER, but by ^a Captain of the army, name unknown.

Many of the Russian soldiers who had arrived ~~from~~ ^{thought} that they were at the Suez Canal or in Berlin. They ~~were told the truth~~ had been told that they were to fight against the capitalists who had made an attack on the Peoples' Democracies. [redacted]

[redacted] After the failure of the revolution, it appeared that about 16,000 people were dead, about 40,000 deported and about 180,000 had escaped to the West.

Of the approximately 10 million Hungarians, about 100,000 reliable Communists were armed. In the revolution, however, it appeared that, including the Army and the Peoples' Police, about 400,000 people were armed,

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that is, 300,000 more than were permitted.

The Russians speak of true war and false war. The true war is fought only for the service of the people. It is announced that the Russians are systematically at war with the enemies of the Peoples' Democracies.

The Headquarters of the Russians were, among other places, in Cegled, Kisjemed, and so forth. Most of the troops were stationed in camps outside the city, not in the city. Among the refugees there are various ones who still sympathize with Communism and who were AVH ~~etc.~~ ^{spies}

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Concentration Camps:

These really came into existence in 1945, but were officially organized only after 1949. Before 1953 one could be arrested without a warrant. After 1953 there first had to be a legal warrant for arrest, but this was only an appearance, really, and not a protection.

Hungarian Red Cross:

Before the revolution this was a pure Communistic organization. During the revolution the order came from the new government to throw the Communists out of it. This order was at first taken over and continued by the KADAR

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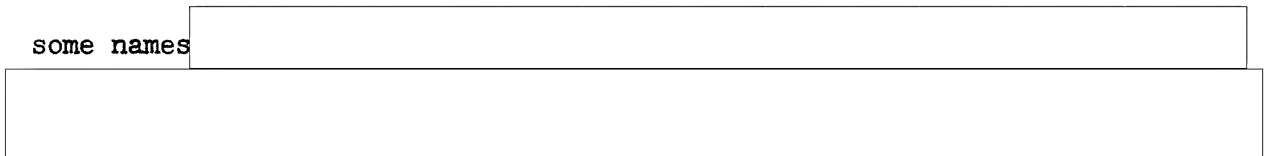
government, but later was not. There was a committee of the Hungarian Red Cross in every neighborhood in Budapest for the passing out of the goods.

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On the morning of 17 November 1956, twenty-one Russian soldiers with a few AVH agents came to the University in Budapest in a tank. They wanted to look for the (registered) stencil machine and for pamphlets. They asked for the Rector, who said that no one was allowed to use the stencil machine. In the afternoon of the same day these people came back to take away the stencil machine. Then a number of pamphlets were found on which there were some names

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Attachment A.

University Life in Hungary

a. The period up to about 1940:

Before the second world war there were five universities in Hungary: the University at Budapest and the Polytechnical University also in Budapest, as well as the universities at Debrecen, Szeged, and Pecs. Despite the regime of the late Adm. HORTHY these universities were practically autonomous, the members of the university community were inviolable inside the university buildings, and the police had no access to them. At the head of the universities stood a rector, while the leadership of the various faculties was charged to a dean. The dean also had a faculty council. The rector with the deans formed the board of the university. The universities were financed through the Ministry of Education, while the appointment of professors was made by the board of the university and ratified by the Minister of Education. The appointments were on the basis of merit.

The students were united in various student organizations, some of which were rather nationalistic. this was the result of the provisions of the peace of 1918 and the nationalist-fascist regime of HORTHY in the years 1919 to 1944. Also there were some legitimistic groups of students (supporters of the princely house of Hohenzollern), but these were much fewer in number. Most of the Roman Catholic students were organized in nationalistic organizations, while a smaller part of them participated in the legitimistic groups.

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b. Period During the Second World War

After 1940 the influence of the State upon the universities was becoming constantly greater, especially after 1941 when HORTHY had been more or less

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forced to take the side of Germany. Jewish professors were dismissed, and the appointment of professors became more and more a matter of State. Suitability to the regime became one of the criteria for appointment. The Nationalist student groups became more and more Fascist-like. Various experts who under ordinary conditions would certainly be considered for appointments were not considered because they were not permitted by the regime. This was true for non-Jews also.

c. Period after World War II to Mid-1948:

Although after the war a democratic government was formed in Hungary, by the Communist Party, ~~among others~~, the Social Democrats, the National Farmers Party, and some other small groups, a dominating influence was exercised by the Communist. The Ministry of Interior Affairs -- hand in hand with the Communists -- was taking all sorts of measures to get the power in their hands. This had its influence on university life. The influence of the State upon high schools became constantly greater. The rectors were appointed by the government, while the professors were named by the Minister of Education.

d. Period From Mid-1948 to Today:

After TITO was thrown out of the Communist bloc, the Communists in Hungary took power completely into their own hands. No more professors nor staff members who were not members of the Communist Party, were appointed. Various professors and staff members not considered suitable by the regime were fired, and others went to foreign countries.

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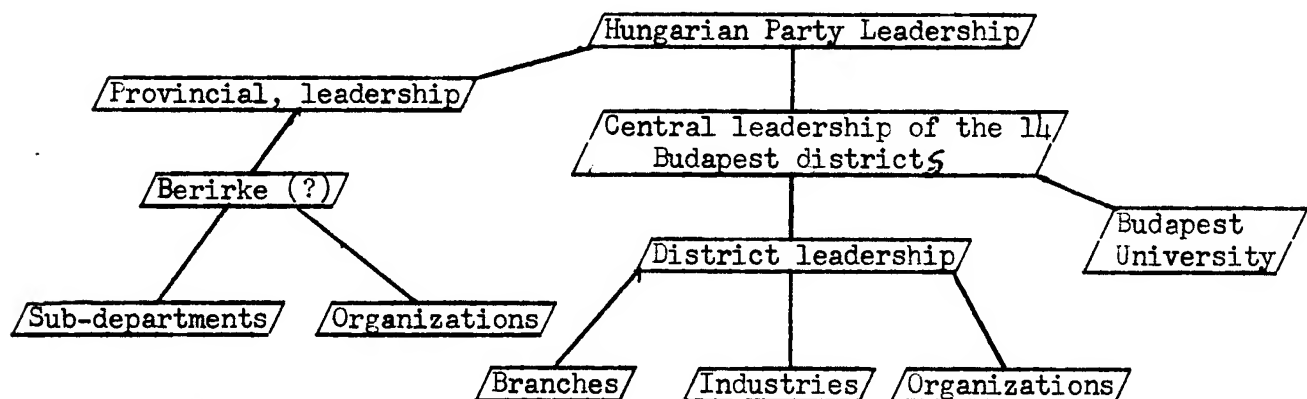
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[REDACTED] The influence of the Party on the university was systematically enlarged, and the deputies of the rectors and deans were all recruited from the Party. For propaganda purposes, faculties of the existing universities were split up and made into universities by themselves. For example, the medical faculty of the Budapest University became an independent university with its own faculties of general medicine, pharmacy, and dentistry.

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The universities came to stand under the direct supervision of the central leadership of the Budapest Party districts. This was an exceptional situation, since even the big industries in and around Budapest were under the supervision of the Party district leadership. The diagram below may make these things clear.

DIAGRAM OF PARTY INFLUENCE ON THE UNIVERSITY



The study officers were no more purely administrative officers of the University; they became centers of power in the universities, occupied by reliable Party members. There was a secret card file, and this office directed the infiltration into all parts of the university.

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About 1950 the university council was composed as follows: rector (Party member or fellow-traveler), deputy rector (always Party member, often not a university man), dean (Party member or fellow-traveler or would-be fellow-traveler), deputy dean (always Party member, often not a university man), chief of the study office (always Party member), chief of personnel affairs (always Party member), student representative (always Party member), some representatives of the Disz (Communist Youth Organization, always party members), and the Party secretary, chief of the study office and in fact the dictator. The decisions of the university council meetings were prepared by him, although he never proposed them himself, but always put them into the mouths of the rector or one of the deans.

As mentioned earlier, for propaganda purposes some faculties were made into independent universities. In addition to the one already named, the medical, the faculty of natural science of the Budapest University was cut off. The newly formed natural science university got two faculties, the chemical-physical and the biological.

However, there were also completely new universities set up, for example, at Miskolc and Szolnok. These were mainly organized for industry and transportation. A fine new chemical university was built at Veszprém. The Lenin University was set up in Budapest. This became the center for political schooling. Courses were as follows: history of the USSR; Communist Party doctrine; geography of the USSR; USSR literature; Marxism and Leninism. Thus, nothing about Hungarian history or literature. This "university" turned out interpreters (Russian), high state and Party functionaries, and

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Party theoreticians. These high state and Party functionaries were called "Janicsars" or "Janicsaren" among trusted people. (This word came into existence in Hungary in connection with the Turkish occupation in the 16th century, when the Turks sent Hungarian children away to Turkey, gave them a hard military upbringing there, and later brought them back as adult fighters to Hungary in order to rule the Hungarians with an iron fist and to exploit them for the benefit of the Turks.) The theoreticians were called secretly "Kucsera" (that is, parents).

The usual preparation for the universities was as follows: four years of elementary education, plus four years of continued education and four years of college preparatory higher education. One could be admitted to the Lenin University, however, with four years of elementary education, provided one was an outstanding Party member and did not come from the class of the peoples' enemies. From 1950 to 1955 such people could also be admitted to other universities with four years of elementary education and after a sort of phony examination. The professors and staffs were obliged to give particular attention to these students, and a certain percentage of them had to pass the examinations. In the secret card file, all particulars concerning all people in the university community were written down.

Twenty per cent of the lecture time was spent on the following: Marxism, military doctrine, Russian language, and military exercises. Of the 24 lecture hours per week, 16 hours were spent on trade study, the rest on obligatory nonsense A medical student, during his five

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years of study, had to do practical military exercises two hours per week; this included the women. The military organization of the students according to their faculties was as follows: the artillery men were recruited from the natural science university; the doctors from the medical university; the engineering officers from the polytechnical university; and so forth. Naturally, the political officers came from the Lenin University, and they were put into platoons where, regardless of their rank, they had equal say with the commanding officers of the platoons. What seems to have happened was that workers, after a five month course at the Lenin University, appeared as political officers with the rank of major.

AVH Functions:

Among the functionaries added to the University by the Party there were also various AVH agents. Also, students considered suitable for the purpose were requested by the AVH to act as eyes and ears for their service; they especially tried to get sympathizers in every study group. It was the custom to unite 25 or 30 students who were studying in the same field into a study group under the leadership of one or two assistants. A leader of Disz (Communist Youth Organization) was put into everyone of these study groups. It goes without saying that such people were recruited from the fiery Communists. The cream of the Hungarian Communist youth was taken into this Disz, workers and farmers as well as intellectuals youth, provided that the latter were not of a peoples' enemy class. Thus there were no special departments for students, farm youths, and so forth. The study ^{payments} ~~levels~~ for the students were various and of course were given only to members of the

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Party. Sons and daughters of workers who worked for the Party or the Disz, or children of Communists, who were of service to those organizations, came under consideration in the years 1950 to 1955 for the "RAKOSI-payments." These were the highest payments and were given, by the study year, to only a few students. They amounted to 800 florints per month. ~~The ^{For} ~~study~~~~ students who in their study as well as in their Party work did outstanding service, ^{worth} there was a sum of 400 florints per month. (A florint is/about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ U.S.)

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[redacted] in Hungary an entrance examination is also demanded. During the Communist regime, from 1950 to 1955, this was in fact a political examination. By higher authority, directives were given regarding the percentages-- that is, 30% of future students might come from intellectual circles (see the limitations below); 60% from the workers' circles; and 10% from farmers' circles. A central commission from the university council-- all Communists, of course--ultimately decided whether or not one was to be admitted, after one had been interrogated by a commission consisting of a professor, an assistant, and a Docent. The students had to request admission from the Ministry of Education and fill in lists of questions for this purpose. On this list of questions there had to be a signification by the local Party secretary that the candidate was "good." In Budapest the approval of the provincial council was also necessary. ~~Only~~ of the students of the polytechnical school were questioned very seriously about their knowledge; the rest of the candidates were interrogated about the facts of their lives, services they

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had done for the Party or the Disz, and so forth. For every category there was a special mark on the report form, as follows:

Candidates from the workers' class - M

Candidates from the farmers' class - P

Candidates from intellectual circles - E

Children of minor officials, railroad men, and so forth - E

Children of classes hostile to the people, priests, former owners and so forth-X

If a candidate's parents were former land holders, for example, then he was not admitted to the university. He could then go to work, for example, in a factory for two years and by great industry could improve his situation, after which he could seek admission to the university.

Finally, the candidate had ~~to~~ have in his possession a recommendation from the head of his last school.

International University Contact:

After 1948 contact with Western countries was made practically impossible. Professors and staff members often got ~~inventions~~ orders to report invitations from the West and to say that they were prevented by sickness or by something else from attending a congress or some such meeting. Also the exchange of professors and staff members, as well as of students ⁱⁿ ~~of~~ the various Satellite states ~~was~~ rather small. Some students from the Lenin University did go to Russia for further schooling and returned as completely prepared "Janicsars" * "Janicsarens". There was very little exchange of students with Czechoslovakia and Poland. This amounted to only a few students per faculty per year. There were, however, a rather large number of

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North Koreans studying at the university of Budapest. There were fewer Chinese

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Scientific congresses in other Satellite states were attended exclusively by trusted Communist~~s~~ from the Hungarian universities. Books and magazines from the West were denied as far as possible. The few that did arrive could not be the personal possession of the scholars, but were stored in the university libraries, and precise records were kept of the people who read these things. Also, it was not permitted to publish in Western magazines without the permission of high authority.

These things were somewhat liberalized in the early part of 1956 after the 20th congress in Moscow.

Material Provisions for the Universities:

The provision~~s~~ for the universities in Hungary was frankly bad. The whole thing was based upon the five-year plans. Chemicals, for example, had to be ordered years in advance, a ridiculous situation because in chemistry it is very difficult to tell in advance how certain types of research will develop. If a certain raw material was used up, ~~and~~ others -- much more expensive ones -- had to be used. Books and periodicals also had to be

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ordered far in advance; Western literature, as described above, was very scarce, and under tight control. At least 30% of this study literature had to come from Russia; often it was not worth much and was childishly written; it all had mainly a propagandist character. This was true of books as well as magazines.

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I. Population

Registration and Documentation:

Budapest is divided into 22 districts and every district has its own population register. If one changes from one district to another, this must be registered in both districts. There are special identity cards provided with a photo of the subject and telling the place where he works. There is a different identity card for every occupation. These were inspected seldom or never until the revolution. Four times a year one must have the card sealed. If one loses it one must pay a fine, about 100 florints. If one loses it again, a double fine. No further details.

Work Duty:

This was not a direct duty to work, but no one dared to risk not working. One took a great chance on being interned for being suspected of being a capitalist. Special distribution cards existed for mothers and babies, for butter, milk, meat, and fruit. Semi-tropical fruit, spices, and so forth were very seldom available. It was impossible to change one's work without permission. One could get another job only with the help of influential persons in the Communist Party. When one changed his job he had to look for his own replacement. No further details.

Medical and Social Care:

Everyone came under the decision regarding the sickness funds. That is, everyone but the capitalists. The care of the sick, however, was bad. The hospitals were completely full and it was difficult to be accepted into one.

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Little thought was given to the sick. In this too, the bigger and more important a Communist a person was, the better the care. One had the chance of consulting a private doctor, but then he had to pay for the care himself. The medicines were bad and very expensive. Older people had a small old-age pension and no taxes.

II Freedom of Movement

Travel:

One could travel without hindrance throughout the country except for the border areas. Special permission was needed for that. There was no inspection of identity cards in the public means of transportation, except in the border areas. International trips within the Communist bloc of states took place collectively. One had to submit a request and await one's turn to take a trip. The purpose of a trip and the names of the persons to be visited also had to be submitted. Thus, in this connection, one could visit his family.

Private Transportation:

For the buying of bicycles, motorcycles, and other motor vehicles one had to have permission. An automobile of one's own was very exceptional; motorcycles were also scarce.

Logging:

It was formally prescribed that if one stayed in a place more than 24 hours he had to report to the local police. In practice, however, this did not happen. In the city of Budapest every house is the property of the state. The so-called housemaster is put in each one by the government; this

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housemaster is also the chief resident. All these housemasters are Party members. They are charged with the inspection of the other occupants. They make up lists reporting the conduct of the occupants, for example how late one comes home at night, whom one receives, and so forth.

Up to midnight one can go into his house unhindered. After that the house door is closed and one must ring the bell, so that the housemaster lets the occupant come in, after the latter has paid a small fine. Coming home late is always reported to the police, for this can mean attending meetings which are forbidden, or meeting illegal contacts. There is no curfew, although there was ^{one} during the revolution. In Czechoslovakia the inspection is much fiercer, including that in private residences.

Change of Residence:

One is not free simply to change his residence. He needs permission for this. The better ^a Communist he is, the better and larger the living space he gets.

Curfew:

A curfew existed only at the time of the revolution. The times varied. Some housemasters could be bought off from reporting that one came home late or received a guest.

III Inspection

Censorship:

In the interior of the country there is no censorship of the ^{mail} ~~mail~~. However, one had to remember that such a thing could happen, by random sampling. Thus one dared not have any dangerous correspondence. There

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was censorship of correspondence with foreign countries.

In the city of Budapest there are very few telephone booths, and to have a telephone of your own at your house was a luxury. One had always to remember that the telephone was probably tapped.

IV Economy

Distribution:

In Budapest there were only state stores. At first there were also private stores, but by taking all sorts of measures (special orders, high taxes, and so forth) these quickly disappeared. The prices were usually uniform, but occasionally it happened that the same articles were to bear different prices.

Forbidden Possession:

Anyone could have a camera and make photographs except in the border areas and near military objects and certain factories. Also one could have a typewriter or stencil machine, but the numbers of them were recorded, as well as the names of the owners. Radios could be bought freely and one could listen to anything. If one listened to the Western radio, this was reported by the housemasters. Listening to foreign broadcasts was dangerous because they were always jammed, and from hearing the jammer it could be determined that one was listening to the West. Maps could not be bought. There were maps and atlases for the schools, but these were very simple.

V Occupations

Free Occupations:

Doctors and lawyers were united in so-called doctors' registers and

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lawyers' registers. Every large city had its own register, there was also a national register, a total of about five. It was impossible to practice one's profession without being a member of such a register; to be a member one had to pay dues. There were private teachers only in speaking and music.

Small Businesses:

Bakers, butchers, grocers, and so forth (consumption articles) could have their own stores if they had specific permission. This permission was difficult to get. There were such stores at first, but by various restrictive regulations, high taxes, and so forth they disappeared and became state stores. Carrying on a business with one's own personnel was very dangerous, for then one was viewed as a capitalist. This was true for every other business or plant as well.

Farmers and Gardeners:

There were two sorts of farms, namely the Kolchozen (state farms) and private farms. Big farms were nationalized by the government and the small private farms in the surrounding area were forced to join them. There was a lot of propaganda to stimulate these Kolchozen farms. It was impossible for a private farm to continue to exist in the middle of Kolchozen farms. These were made impossible by various measures. There are still private farms, but only in places where there are no Kolchozen farms.

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As a whole, the Hungarian people are definitely not Communist-minded. The short rule of BELA KUN in the year 1919 is still in many people's memory, and all Hungary was glad when HORTHY drove out this Communistic regime. The 25-year leadership of this regent, whose system was based on Italian Fascism, as well as the peace of Trianon in which Hungary lost great amounts of territory, had a rather strong nationalistic influence on the political position of the Hungarians, especially among the predominant Roman Catholic section of the population.

Immediately after the occupation of Hungarian territory in the years 1944 and 1945, the Russians made attempts to put Communism to work in Hungary. Communist agents were put into all spheres of life, especially in key positions. Even in December 1945 the Ministry of Interior Affairs was in

the hands of the Communists, although the Communists in the first election after the war got only 13% of the total votes. Some time later they got *the* Social Democratic Party to the point that that Party formed the united Workers' Party with the Communists. Meanwhile they actively pursued the occupation of key positions in the city and national governments. In the elections of 1947 there was false voting on an enormous scale.

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in Budapest a number of trucks full of fanatic Communist youths going from one voting office to another in order to vote again.

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Then the Communists got 70% of the votes, and the regime was therefore definitely in place. The year 1948 was the year of the great purge, in all circles of life. All the leading figures who were not trusted and who could

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be replaced were thrown out of their jobs. The real regime was not maintained, however, by the Hungarian Communists, ^{but} by the Russian observers who swarmed over the land after the war. These advisors did service, in fact, in official, military, and industrial life.

A construction program which served the interests not of Hungary but of Russia was proposed. The predominantly agricultural Hungary had to be industrialized in a short time, mainly in heavy industry. Because Hungary itself has no ~~raw~~ raw materials, it became completely dependent on foreign countries--that is, Russia. Colonialization really started in the year 1948. All means of production were nationalized, and the Kolchase system was begun. It became an honor for the Party sections in every section to have at least a model Kolchase. Dispossession from large land holdings was, of course, one of the first steps. The obligation to give ~~produce~~ ^{produce} to the government was a heavy pressure upon the farmer. As far back as men could remember, farmers and many others on the farm lands had baked their own bread. This was not permitted any longer; they were forced to buy their bread in the bakeries created by the state, so that they came under more control. The influence of the Party was felt everywhere, and the Party was busy with everything. The pressure was systematically increased and the system became constantly more perfect in its operation.

A much hated figure in this system was the Party leader RAKOSI. After Tito was thrown out of the Cominform in 1948 the reparation payment to Yugoslavia was immediately stopped, and RAKOSI was the great opponent of Tito, whose position had awakened all sorts of admiration in Hungary. In Hungary

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there are many people who follow the Tito system, not because they are completely of Communist persuasion, but because they see this system as a means of getting rid of Russian domination and exploitation, in order to evolve later into a truly democratic state. It ought to be said emphatically here that quite few longed for regimes such as that which existed before the Russian occupation. In fact, up to that time the Hungarians ^{had} always lived in a more or less feudal state. For an important percentage, the possession of large amounts of ground was in the hands of the Roman Catholic church, while the rest was in the hands of a number of families of the nobility. In fact, the Hungarians have never known any democratic system. The Communist leadership profited greatly from this by making propaganda for its system among young undeveloped farmers and workers, and many of such people became "worthwhile" workers in the Party.

Among better developed persons and intellectuals one met very few convinced Communists. Various among them were members of the Party, but 25X1
 this was done only in order to maintain the positions they 25X1
had. The very great mistake of the Communists was that they flooded the people with propaganda. Communism was preached up one side and down the other, and often in such a child like and stupid way, that the people spat on it. The real Party followers were chiefly recruited from, in addition to the already named simple farmers and workers, ~~and~~ the mentally and physically handicapped; also a lot of very fanatic Communists appeared among the occupational groups such as house painters, salesman, barbers, shoemakers, newspaper venders, coal handlers, waiters, and bakers.

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Many supporters of the Communist regime were found among the Jews. In the second world war, these people had lived in Hungary in the same circumstances ~~as~~ their elders under the German occupation. In contrast to other countries behind the Iron Curtain, the Hungarian Jews got no visas to travel to Palestine and establish themselves there. Those who had lived through the Nazi regime thus accommodated themselves; many of them became members of the Communist Party, and many got themselves ~~to~~ important positions in the regime. But this too can not be completely generalized; subject knew many Jews among the freedom fighters and others who disagreed with the system.

Also, a pet system of the Russians was to work in the countries behind the Iron Curtain with people who were far from the people of the country or who were from other countries. For example, Viliam SIROKY in Czechoslovakia is a Hungarian; so it was with ROKOSOFFSKY in Poland. Also the representative of Hungary and the leader of the delegation of Hungary at the United Nations, named Peter KOS, was not a Hungarian. He was a Russian national and his real name was Lev KONDUKOTOROV. The years 1949 to 1953 were the darkest for Hungary. Systematically the regime was built up and the thumb-screws were turned. Opposition was impossible because this meant immediate liquidation, long years of being interned in a concentration camp, or banishment to Siberia.

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The Nekosz were peoples' organizations which came into being

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from a democratic movement from the years around 1940 as a means of fighting Fascism; there were Communists in this movement but the movement was not dominated by them. These organizations had their own homes in which the students lived, worked and studied and were under the leadership of one or more assistants who lived in.

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Many of the leading figures in the revolution were in the Nekosz. These people had had some political schooling in the debating clubs and especially

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the writers among them, for example those from the Petöfi club, had an important influence on the workers. The first ray of light came in the early part of 1953 ~~and~~ after the death of Stalin. Imre NAGY appeared in the government in Hungary for the first time. Many people were freed from concentration camps, and in general a completely different atmosphere arose. However, this didn't even last a half year. Still, an important part of the people had seen and felt that the regime was not so firmly in the saddle as they had previously presumed. Radio Free Europe, and especially the Hungarian broadcasts of the BBC, had a great many listeners. Still, there was no possibility to make any preparation or anything that ~~resembled~~ preparation for beginning a revolution. Government pressure was heavy and no one was trusted.

After the 20th Party Congress in the USSR a completely different mood came into being. Among the writers and other intellectuals so-called isolated groups came into existence; these groups organized debating evenings, with their main motive being that Hungary must again become master of its own house and that the interests of the Hungarian people should again be put first. A writers' newspaper was again published, originally once per month, later weekly. In this paper the government was strongly criticized and mistakes were traced. When the rehabilitation of RAJK with complete restoration of honor took place, a lot of workers' eyes were opened to the true nature of the regime. The writers' newspapers ~~to~~ came to be read more and more by industrial workers in Budapest and Csepel, and the newspaper boys who for the sake of security always hid these newspapers under the official

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newspapers, made three or four times the price for the writers' newspapers.

Meanwhile conferences were being carried on between the Russian leaders and Tito. Tito had demanded that the reparation payments, among others those from Hungary, which had been stopped by Stalin in 1948, should be resumed, and that the relationships with Hungary should be improved. His great enemy in Hungary, RAKOSI, immediately fell along with his supporters as a victim of the de-Stalinization and was succeeded by GERŐ. In October 1956 GERŐ and some of his close fellow workers made the trip to Belgrade. Meanwhile revolt had started in Hungary also, and the Hungarians, who support the Poles to a great extent followed the events there with great excitement. Spontaneously a movement of sympathy with the Poles arose; this was supported by the Hungarian leaders for reasons of opportunism. A mass meeting was to be held by Hungarian youth at the Joseph Behm Square, where the statue of this Polish freedom hero stands. A great many people got time off to attend this meeting and ^{the} rather small Behm Square could not contain this mass of people. Meanwhile GERŐ, who was just returning from Belgrade, had ordered that the meeting could not be held, but shortly thereafter permission was given. The meeting took place on 23 October in the afternoon. Before that, the Petőfi club had called upon the Disz (Communist Youth Organization) to close ranks with it on a number of points ^{containing} ~~containing~~ the demands of the Hungarian youth for more democracy. The crowd met in the square by the Parliament building. The Budapest students had decided on this, and the leadership of the Disz had joined them. Here it was demanded that the program of the Hungarian youth should be made known over the radio, for which purpose the mass moved to the radio station in Budapest. When this building appeared

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to be completely locked, people tried by force to get access to the Station. Some young officers tried to intervene but were shot down by AVH troops who had arrived in the meantime. Arpad SZAKASITS, formerly one of the Social Democratic leaders, who had just arrived, and one of the people who played an important role in the fusion of the Social Democrats with the Communist Party in the years 1946 and 1947, and who was president of the republic of Hungary for a short time, but who later in 1949 was sentenced by his comrades to life-long labor as a spy for the West, and who in 1955 was set free with a number of other Social Democratic leaders, also tried to intervene. He called upon the masses not to go the extremes of force and to go peacefully home. But he was completely hooted away.

Then events followed very fast. People quit work everywhere, and in the shortest possible time in all offices, places of work, plants, and so forth workers' councils were chosen by free and secret written ballot. In the meantime the fighting groups had gotten a great number of weapons from the Kilian barracks, where a young Captain had taken over the leadership and opened up the stores of weapons. Also supplies of weapons came freely from the factory militias of the large plants in and around Budapest. The government had lost its power and shortly before his resignation GERÖ, on the basis of the Warsaw Pact, called in the help of the Russian troops.

In the meantime the leaders of the revolution at the universities kept themselves busy trying to create a nucleus out of the writers to form a coordinating organ between the various revolutionary councils, which at first worked completely independently. This was, of course, a result of the great spontaneity of the revolution. Couriers instituted communications

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between the various councils and after some days, there really was coordination. Also, close contact was maintained with the NAGY government. At the urging of the coordinating organ NAGY reported that as quickly as possible discussions would be opened with the Russians concerning the withdrawal of the Russian troops. These troops, which had already been stationed in Hungary for some years, kept themselves more or less aloof from the battle. They occupied important junctions in the roads and the bridges between Buda and Pest over the Donau, but free passage from one part of the city to another was possible.

[redacted] the leaders of the revolution at the universities were the following, among others: Ladislaus POSZNAR, Alex PERGEL, Johann VINCE, Johann VARGA, Edith MOLNAR, Eduard NEMETHY, Alex SZEL, and Zoltan MEREY, all of whom were taken prisoner by the KADAR regime. [redacted]

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[redacted] Bela JANKO, and Ladislaus GRUBER were in this central leadership.

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[redacted] these people were representatives of the various faculties of the Budapest University and the Technical High School. There was also a group of intellectuals occupied with the complete reconstruction of Hungary. Leading figures among them were Georg ADAM, a writer; Ladislaus KARDOS and Georg MARKOS, professors.

The revolutionary council of the Medical University consisted of representatives of the professors, lecturers, and assistants and students. The first one was represented by Dr. Stephan PATAKY and Dr. Zoltan ZSEBOK, and

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the second group by [] Bela JANKÓ, and DESIDERIUS. The first person who was kicked out of his position by the revolutionary council was the rector of the Medical University, Gegesi Kis PÁL. He was a fellow-traveler of the regime and did not wish any democratic changes. After the coming ^{to} power of the KADAR regime he was restored to honor and he later spoke on the radio on behalf of the KADAR regime.

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[] the NAGY government had matters completely in hand on 3 November 1956 and [] without the support of the Russian troops, which in the meantime had been completely rotated, KADAR ~~had not~~ ^{would not have his} gotten a foot in the door. Even during the first period of the KADAR regime, everything which had been changed and democratized by the revolutionary councils remained. People at the universities acted as though nothing had happened, tried to get things back on the rails as fast as possible and quietly to maintain the rights they had gained. KADAR, however, was completely surrounded by Russian advisors and is now a puppet of the Russian regime, a prisoner in his own Parliament building. Even after 4 November 1956 some people went ahead with the publishing of pamphlets, including a stenciled student newspaper which was read by the Hungarian population. []

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[redacted] these apparatuses were seized by the AVH accompanied
by a number of Russian soldiers. [redacted]

[redacted]

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Red Army

1. In general there was very little contact between the Hungarian population and the Russian Army in Hungary.
2. The Russian troops, who chiefly consisted of panzer units, were concentrated in some parts of Hungary and lived practically to themselves, in the barracks in the ~~winters~~ summers, in camps in the winters. For example, there was a panzer division stationed in and around the city of Szombathely in West Hungary. Many Russian soldiers lived with their families in this city. In addition to the language difficulties, the Hungarians and the Russian troops had little in common. In general, the Russians felt themselves somewhat above the Hungarians; they thought they were a sort of supermen. The troops which were stationed in Hungary before the revolution were mainly Great Russians. The Hungarians, in turn, looked down upon the Russians as being of a lower order. The differences were just too large to make contact meaningful. The feminine half of the Hungarian population had only sporadic contact with Russian soldiers, and even the "public women" would rather not be seen with the Russians.

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3. It can be stated that in general the Russian occupation troops were hated by the population, although it was wise not to make this public. Those who sought contact with the Russians were lowered in the peoples' estimation.
4. Illegal work under the Russian occupation was not possible. In the years since 1948 the Communist Party and the AVH have penetrated literally into all circles to the extent that no one has any confidence. For example, in the tenement buildings in Budapest practically all the concierges were put in as functionaries of the state by the Party or the secret police (all possession of large houses was nationalized). In general they knew everything that took place in the dwelling. Also, the housing shortage was very severe and many people lived close together in a small amount of space. Speaking frankly occurred only with trusted friends, and even then, in such a way that one could not be overheard. Under these circumstances it was not possible to think of preparations for a possible revolt. In a very trusted circle of friends one could discuss the bad conditions and the terrible limitations which one experienced on all sides, but simply no one thought of a revolt, because everyone was convinced that this would be impossible. Just after the 20th Russian Congress in the first part of 1956, there was a great deal of attention as to what would take place in Hungary; but everyone supposed that this was a sort of evolution, that is, that the leaders, under the pressure of circumstances, would have to take some liberalizing measures.
5. At the beginning of the revolt the Soviet Army was very passive. One

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- got the impression that they were more or less afraid of jumping into this fight. They occupied various strategic points, and sometimes there was shooting, but always from within the panzer and fighting trucks, which they never got out of.
6. The real armed force of the Russians began at 0440 hours in the morning of 4 November 1956. At that time a little cannon was shot off from a hill in Budapest and this was the sign for the attack; but this was made almost exclusively by panzer units. All guns began at that moment to fire, and the sleeping Budapest was awakened by thundering force. These, however, were not the troops who had been stationed in Budapest and all of Hungary up to the time of the revolt, but troops brought in from far away in Russia. All the previous occupation troops had been evacuated by that time. On 4 November the panzer troops shot wildly; wherever they were, wherever they met opposition, they shot with panzer cannons; this is how the great destruction in Budapest took place. The systematic, street-by-street patrol work in cooperation with the AVH began much later, after infantry troops had also arrived.
7. As explained in the answer to question number 5, the Soviet Army in the beginning was definitely passive.

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11.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] eight Russian soldiers who had installed themselves in a cellar gave their weapons to the refugees, without being forced to do so.

12. Pamphlets were made up in Russian in which the Russian soldiers were requested not to fight against the Hungarians, for in that case they would be opposing the people. The Russian soldiers had been impressed by their education that there are two types of war, the true and the false war. The true war was fought exclusively against the enemies of the people, that is, capitalism; the untrue war was fought only by the capitalistic countries against the suppressed proletariat and of course against the Peoples' Democracies. The Hungarians played upon this in their pamphlets, saying that the Russians must fight in a false war against the Hungarian Peoples' Democracy. Moreover, many soldiers among the new troops had the opinion that they were in Berlin or Suez for the purpose of fighting a ^{true} war against the capitalist imperialists.

[REDACTED] despite the changing of the troops, some of these pamphlets found their marks.

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13.

[REDACTED]

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14.

15.

[REDACTED] it would be very difficult to infiltrate the Soviet troops in any way. The large part of these troops are not civilized and have reached no significant level of culture. The Communist ideology is pumped into them, and they have no understanding of

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other systems. They are driven into war like animals, and fight like animals. Orders given them are executed without question, however much they cry about them.

16. During the revolution, the Russian troops were chiefly composed of Great Russians, and after the change they consisted mainly of Ukrainians, Caucasians, and Cossacks. In contrast to the somewhat more cultured Great Russians and the friendly Siberians, the above-named tribes were hard and unfeeling and more or less animal in their appearance and their fighting.

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17. In general, it can be stated that the Russian troops in Hungary could work up little enthusiasm for turning against the Hungarians. However, "orders is orders" goes for them to ^{to} a very great extent, ^{and} in general ^{they are to} be more or less considered as a ^{hard} of animals.

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1. a) GERŐ had nothing to do with the revolt. RAKOSI does seem to have made attempts at provocation, but not in connection with the revolt. The following illustrates this: In the beginning of 1956 RAKOSI invited the actor Antal PAGER to come to Hungary. The latter had previously fled from Hungary as a border-crosser. There was a great deal written about him in the papers and a great deal of talk about him on the radio. Obviously, RAKOSI wanted to show that this Fascist would be greeted with sympathy by the Hungarian people, and RAKOSI wanted to show this so as to prove that there were still many Fascists among the Hungarians. However, not only the Jews, but the whole

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Hungarian population protested against all this.

- b) [redacted] the meeting [redacted] formed the introduction to the revolt [redacted]

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[redacted] It is

true that at the time of the meeting a truck full of Hungarian soldiers came to the radio station and offered their assistance. These soldiers gave their weapons over to the revolutionists when they were told that the Hungarian people were being attacked.

- c) [redacted]
[redacted] The nucleus of the pam-

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phlets which were given out in Budapest by the Revolutionary Council of the Universities among others was that the Hungarians wanted to live under freedom and wanted to have control over their own future. This struck the population very forcefully for the lack of spiritual freedom was most offensive.

2. a) The revolution was not prepared for at all; it was a completely spontaneous outburst, and hence it was not a result of provocation at all. Foreigners were not concerned with it.

- b) The first weapons were obtained from the Kilian barracks, where a young Captain had taken over matters and had opened the magazines to the revolutionists. Also, the revolutionists got weapons from the factory guards and peoples' militia. Not a single weapon was received from a foreign country. [redacted] two trucks with panzer troops had been on the way from Yugoslavia to Budapest. This would

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have been after 4 November, and it is said that the trucks with the panzer troops, which had surrounded Budapest, were taken prisoner.

c)

3. Since 1948, the Hungarians have looked jealously to Yugoslavia, for Tito had the courage to defy Stalin. Since that time, any contact between the peoples of these two countries was practically impossible until the time of Stalin's death. It was in this way that RAKOSI, the much-hated leader of Hungary, was a deathly enemy of Tito, who allowed the last opportunity to pass him by to attack RAKOSI, just as RAKOSI let pass the chance to do the same to Tito. After the pardoning of Tito by the Kremlin, RAKOSI's days were numbered. The book Tito's Life by DJILAS was read a great deal in Hungary, although not openly.

In April 1956 a Hungarian, rather Communistic transmitter came on the air; [] this transmitter was on Yugoslavian soil. The chief doctrine of this radio station was that Hungary should build up its own socialist state.

The official Yugoslavian transmitters were hindered from 1948 until the beginning of 1956 by jammers. []

4. At the immediate time of the revolution there was still no central Revolutionary Council. Each factory, place of work, or other installation chose its own Revolutionary Council by free and secret written

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ballot. Through the efforts of the writers' group and the Revolutionary Council of the Universities, especially, coordination was brought about between the various Revolutionary Councils. At that time, however, GERŐ had already disappeared from the stage, and the contact with NAGY, who shortly before becoming ~~the~~ Prime Minister had been offered a professorship at the Budapest University, was good. However, there was too much to do, especially since nothing had been prepared, and a great many things had to be improvised.

Even after KADAR took over the power, this council still functioned, but KADAR became more and more surrounded by Russian advisors and within a short time he could no longer be reached by the Hungarians of good will. By that time, the influence of the Revolutionary Councils had completely disappeared.

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